

Within the Sacred Precincts of Diplomacy

Mr. Schreiner during the war was a correspondent for the Associated Press and traveled in the Central Empires until the United States cast its lot with the Entente. The facts are of the type which every honest newspaperman seeks to place before his reading public. These articles are interesting bits of history heretofore denied the American people by Congress

By GEORGE A. SCHREINER

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"The Craft Sinner"

WHEN the gods of Greek mythology hid themselves to Elysium, they left behind all the offspring they had with the fair daughters of Hellas. For centuries thereafter—taking Homer's version for it—that offspring ran much of the affairs of mankind. It did that usually in a most peculiar manner, and we may conclude, therefore, that our diplomatists are lineal descendants of the Greek gods—no mere humans, in other words.

This view of the case may be looked upon as the queerest of logic. It may be said for it, however, that it is every bit as logical as diplomacy itself. Also, this strange hypothesis finds ample justification in the opinion of the diplomatist has of himself, which opinion, by the way, is fervently supported by those who have never penetrated into the holy of holies of diplomacy. Diplomats are super-men, of course. In weak moments they may admit to themselves that they are of dust, but none has yet been found who would admit this—even to his wife or his valet.

It is a well-known fact that no ambassador or minister has ever so much as batted an eyelash before an irate minister for foreign affairs, premier, president or kingly ruler. The diplomatist does not have to do that. Once he has been anointed by governmental infallibility, he is himself infallible. This is conceded by all. It is part of his stipend. And though there be little enough sense in some of those who direct the weal and woe of nations they all have sufficient intelligence of a sort not to question the infallibility of those upon whom the oil of the diplomatic and governmental cult has fallen. To do that might result in disaster.

By and large the diplomatist is well protected. He does as he pleases, until he is found out. Found out in times of peace he goes on a vacation; discovered in times of stress he is recalled. On but rare occasions has a diplomatist been *Dumbaided*. Dr. Alexander Dumba, who, it will be recalled, was sent home by Mr. Wilson during the war, was not inappropriately named. Taking the last letter off his name, we have an adjective with a slang meaning all its own. His case, however, was exceptional.

Sending Morgenthau to Turkey

I MET Mr. Dumba in the famous Ballhausplatz building in which is housed the ministry of foreign affairs in Vienna. Oscar Ritter von Montlong, then chief of the press department of the ministry, thought it proper to introduce us to one another. Dr. Dumba caught my name and connection and fled in dismay, mumbling a few words to the effect that, while he was glad to meet me, he had really nothing to say. To which Von Montlong added a second later that Dr. Dumba thought the American newspaperman the most dangerous individual on earth, to which I also agreed.

Ambassadors and ministers write autobiographies in the spare time they have recently had between writing war books of the clatrapest variety. It is a good thing that the autobiographies are generally printed for private circulation only—with a wonderful print on wonderful paper, within a more wonderful binding emblazoned by the crest of the house of the diplomatist.

To read the books of diplomatists one would take it for granted that at their posts they were everything. To read two such books will show even the novice how much power two men can have in a single sphere, and to read three leaves us dumbfounded in contemplation of how so much force, will, initiative, energy and noble volition could be unfolded within so narrow a confine as this little planet of ours.

In Constantinople, the newspaperman met Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Sr., representing at that time the United States at the Sublime Porte. To represent the greatest republic on earth at so marvelous a place as the Alibabi, to wit: Sublime Porte, was a great honor, of course. And Mr. Morgenthau felt that honor, naturally.

Mr. Morgenthau was at Baltimore in 1912 and was one of the first to shake the presidential nominee's hand. Mr. Wilson never forgot that, nor did the Democratic national committee forget that the real estate operator had made a handsome contribution to the campaign exchequer.

There was but one post open for the aspirant. For years and years Constantinople had been a post *de convenance*, as our Gallic associates would call it. To the Sublime Porte were sent men for whom it was hard to find a place elsewhere. At the European capitals certain social and racial lines had been drawn. The barbarous Turk was more democratic, and at one time too corrupt, to draw such lines. Moreover, the Sultan had under his rule many of Mr. Morgenthau's coreligionists, and what was more to the point, the United States owns its own ambassadorial palace in Pera, so that no rent had to be paid. The salary of a United States ambassador is \$17,500 a year, just enough to keep his excellency in little change for tips; with free quarters thrown in, Constantinople was a good post then.

Ambassadorial appointments are really poor investments, though they are not without glory, of course. Mr. Morgenthau did not mind that because money was no object with him. His real estate deals had been most profitable. He was usually the head in the large syndicates he organized. In a single deal he made

\$480,000, and his promotion schemes all over New York City, from Lower Broadway to the swamps along the East and Bronx rivers, netted him a huge fortune, compared to which the handsome income from a typewriter concern was but pin money.

What the future ambassador of the United States to Turkey thought of money is best shown by a little remark he made on the occasion of a dinner at Delmonico's some time in 1912.

"Yes," he said, "a man who is worth only a million is not in respectable society, nowadays. He must have millions or he does not count."

Mr. Morgenthau wanted to be ambassador to Turkey, a post which had been filled by other Jews. It so happened in 1912 that Mr. Wilson and a new governor of the state of New York had to be elected. Funds were needed for that. Mr. Morgenthau contributed lavishly and got members of his family to do likewise. When the campaign was in fairly good swing, the Democratic party was indebted, morally, to the Morgenthau family to the following extent:

Henry Morgenthau, Sr., (first contribution) ...	\$30,000
Henry Morgenthau, Sr., (second contribution) ...	10,000
Henry Morgenthau, Jr.,	1,000
S. M. L. Morgenthau,	100
G. L. Morgenthau,	250
Maximilian Morgenthau,	100
	<hr/> \$41,450

But it seems that this was not yet the total of what Mr. Morgenthau spent in that campaign.

In September of the next year ex-Governor Sulzer of New York was cited to appear before an impeachment court. Mr. Morgenthau also appeared in the rôle of witness, because a check of his was one of the exhibits. Mr. Morgenthau explained to the court that he had handed this check for \$1,000 to Mr. Sulzer in a moment in which he was "foolishly generous." According to the testimony, Mr. Morgenthau was sitting in his office at the Democratic National Headquarters at 200 Fifth Avenue, on October 5, when Mr. Sulzer walked in. Mr. Morgenthau gave him a check for \$1,000 from his own funds. According to the testimony, Mr. Sulzer did not expect to get such a check,

which caused the impeachment court to put a good many questions, of which two are relevant.

Question by Senator Coates:

"I would like to ask Mr. Morgenthau if, had Mr. Sulzer not been a candidate for governor, he would have given the \$1,000 as spontaneously as he did?"

Mr. Morgenthau: "Certainly not!"

Question by another member of the court:

"Was it for the purpose of creating better understanding or more intimate relations between yourself and William Sulzer after he should have been elected governor, knowing that he would be elected?"

Mr. Morgenthau: "No, sir."

Just before, Mr. Morgenthau had admitted that he was sure of Mr. Sulzer's election.

Mr. Sulzer had been elected governor, and on March 18, 1913, there was given a dinner in his honor by his friends at the Café Boulevard. The governor had meanwhile attracted the attention of those who wished him harm, and Mr. Morgenthau found it necessary to support and encourage him, doing this in words that betrayed the keenest interest in Mr. Sulzer.

"The people look to you not to yield," said Mr. Morgenthau. "Self-seeking men no longer govern the state. The people have sent you a message to march straight on, and if you yield you will be overwhelmed. Your one master is public opinion, and you must stand like a rock, come against you who may."

A little later the governor was before the impeachment court, and Mr. Morgenthau's check was among those that figured in the trial.

Within a few days of Mr. Morgenthau's appearance before the impeachment court, Mr. Wilson sent his nomination as ambassador to Turkey to the United States Senate. It was promptly accepted, and Mr. Morgenthau was generously feted before he left for his post.

Mr. Morgenthau made a good impression in Turkey, according to the newspaper dispatches written before the newspaperman appeared on the scene. The American ambassador admitted having been asked by the Turkish Government to accept a post in the Ottoman ministry, as minister of agriculture, besides attending to his duties as ambassador of the United States. He declined, however, though that did not prevent the Turkish Government from presenting a member of the ambassador's family with the Shefakat Order of the first class, the man mainly responsible being Enver Pasha, Ottoman minister of war, upon whom Mr. Morgenthau has since fastened a good half of the responsibility for the propaganda-augmented Armenian atrocities, bestowing the other half upon Talaat Pasha, who was recently assassinated in Berlin.

On March 3, 1916, Mr. Morgenthau was interviewed in regard to the situation in Turkey. He informed the New York reporters that the Turk was not half a bad chap, if you knew him. And the ambassador knew the Turk well, it seems.

Rumors reached him to the effect that Turkish soldiers had occupied the buildings of the Masovan College for Girls. He was indignant. Being a man of action, and not bound by the regular rules of diplomatic intercourse, Mr. Morgenthau got the Sultan on the telephone. The following conversation ensued, according to Mr. Morgenthau:

The ambassador of the United States:

"Can you see me on an important matter?"

His Majesty, Sultan Réchad Khan V, Khalifa, Ghazi, and so on:

"Yes, come right over."

Knew Nothing But Turkish

THE newspaperman may say that this is somewhat of an enigma. During a twenty-seven minutes' audience which he had with His Majesty, an interpreter had to function, because the Sultan knew neither English, French nor German—nothing, in fact, but Turkish, of which language Mr. Morgenthau knew as much at that time as did the newspaperman.

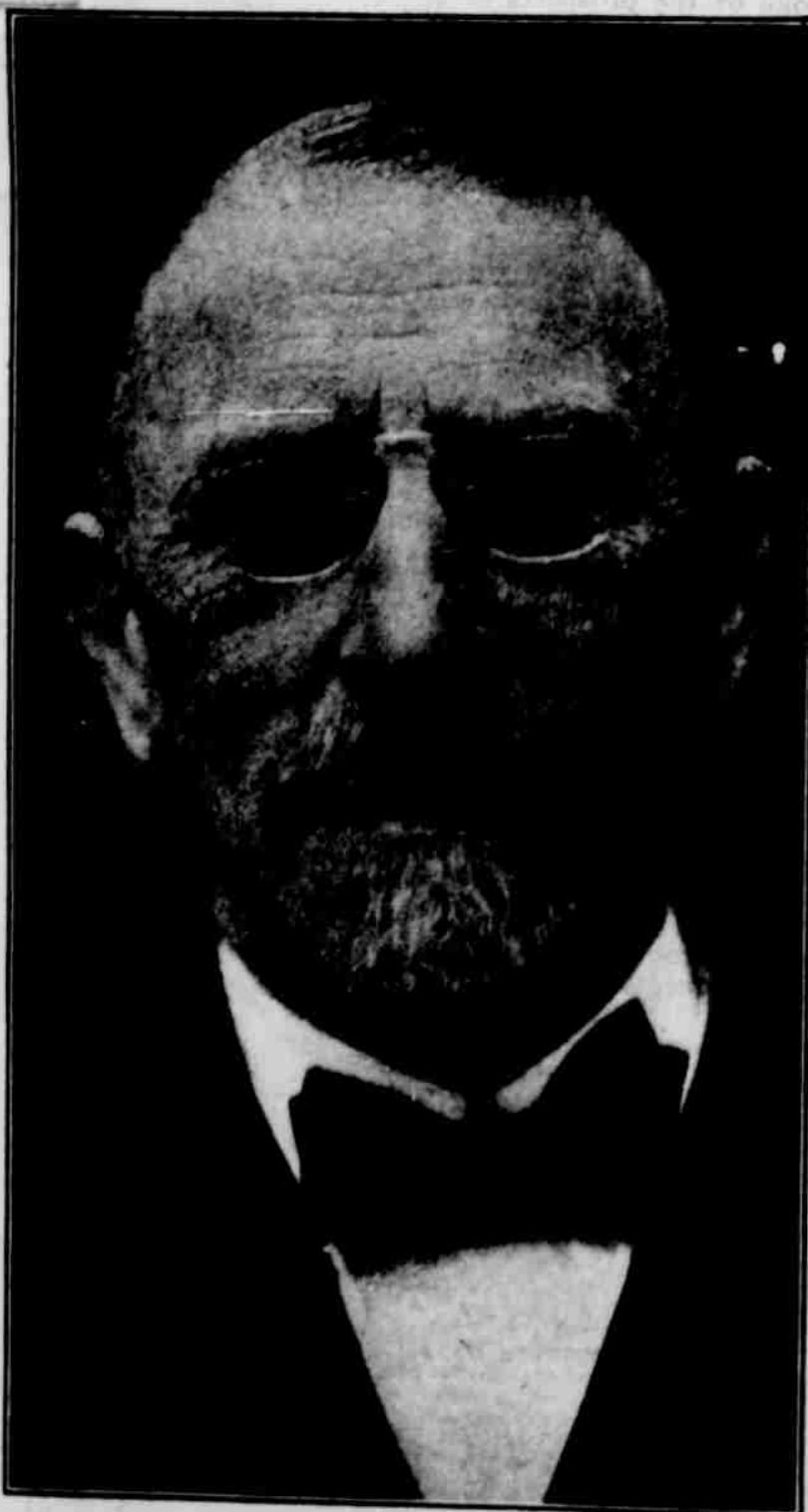
Mr. Morgenthau left his post at Constantinople to assist in the re-election of Mr. Wilson. In October of 1916, he issued an appeal for funds for the Democratic campaign to the extent of \$500,000, but was \$270,000 short of this when the election was over. All of the money Mr. Morgenthau raised was gotten on the plea of: "He kept us out of the war." For a time, indeed, Mr. Morgenthau was convinced that the United States should not participate in the war. On March 8, of that year he made the statement:

"And so we should, and we must, keep out of the war."

The statement was an incident to Mr. Morgenthau's protest against the efforts that were being made at the time to drag the country into the war. He could not see the necessity for this at that time, because he knew that conditions in Turkey were radically different from what he pictured there later. His own son, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., made the following statement in London in an interview:

"In Constantinople itself there is little evidence of German domination. The city is well policed and orderly."

On March 21, 1916, Mr. Morgenthau took pains to point out to an audience of coreligionists that the



HENRY MORGENTHAU,

Formerly United States Ambassador to Turkey